as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— in lieu of the death penalty

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 226 [685] of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224 685] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

224 > There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [175] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dic- [224] tated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

684 people without their noses." This cutting off the nose of an adulterer or adulteress is called *Etorasuke* [Etumesu?—to cut off the nose] and was in vogue until recently. We find then that punishment ranged from atonement made through property settlement to such corporal punishment as *Ukaru* and included such penalties as the loss of honor through loss of the hair or the nose. There were other penalties for minor [681] offenses of which the *Watarishima Hikki* speaks, "As for thieves, the chief kept them tied in his house." In 685 addition there were lashing and hanging the culprit by his hair from a beam. More serious offenses were punished by the removal of some part of the body as an ear or a finger and exile was also a punishment. This latter could be serious enough to endanger the life of the victim if the village were itself isolated either socially or geographically. Exile was a frequent judgment.[63] According to the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, "If someone commits a crime he is driven away from the village."

681 There seems to be no doubt that the death penalty was assessed for crime but since, according to their religious views, death in itself was not necessarily a punishment, it was executed in a merciless manner designed to make the accused suffer as much as possible before dying. For example, the eyes could be pierced by needles and the victim buried alive[64] or the tendons of the legs cut and the criminal banished to the wastelands.[65] Death was of course the outcome of these actions but was not in itself the objective of the actions taken.

Compensation was frequently called for. It was called *Tsugunai* [*Tsugunau*—to compensate] as in Japanese or sometimes *Ashinpe*. Hayashi Kingo interprets *Tsugunai* as "compensation," "atonement," or "arbitration charge," and *Ashinpe* as a minor fine,[66] but there is really no clear distinction.

●[439] Merchandise used for foreign exchange such as utensils, weapons, and swords were used for *Ashinpe*. *Ashin* is "new" and *pe* is "thing" and referred to things obtained through trade with foreigners. The scope of *Ashinpe* was very wide, it being imposed in practically all offenses. The fact that most crimes were settled by the offering of *Ashinpe* is seen in *Tōyū Ki* [Journey to the East] which says: "No matter what the crime may be if wealth is offered a life is saved from further danger," and that the other and more severe penalties were imposed only when the accused had no wealth to offer is seen in the *Ezoshima Ki*, "The guilty was never sentenced to death, instead a fine would be imposed. If unable to pay the fine his beard was pulled out and he was set free." In the *Tsugaru Kibun*: "If one has committed a crime but has no treasure to offer, his life was taken." The payment of atonement came not only

[63] *Ibid.*, 240–241.
[64] *Kyokuboku no bessekai*, 48.
[65] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241–242.
[66] Hayashi Kingo, Ainu no genshi shakai (Primitive society of the Ainu), *Dorumin* 14 (6).

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

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*175 Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade
*648 relations of benefit to both parties. Therefore, the
● 439 relationship between the Matsumae and the Ainu started as a trade relationship which was, in effect, an extension of the Ōu relationships. Some students of economics maintain that there exists among barbarian peoples one stage in which there is no trade with other peoples. Yet, as far as we know, the Ezo have always traded with
A [501] neighboring peoples using for that purpose canoes propelled by mat sails and paddles. Trade across Tsugaru strait between Japan and Hokkaidō started quite early. The *SDE* vol. 3 written in 1356, says that the Ezo living near Matsumae "Went out to trade at
E [504] the ports of Tsugaru in the Ōu region." Tosa in Tsugaru (an auxiliary naval port located at the mouth of Tosa Bay in Tsugaru) was the center of trade between the mainland and Hokkaidō. It was the largest seaport in Ōu with ships from both Ezo and the capital of Japan going in and out the harbor. The importance of this port in the Ezo trade is testified to not only by the *Tosa Ōrai*[1] [Tosa Courier] but by the legend "On Zōshi Shima Watari" in the *Otogi Zōshi*[b] of the Ashikaga period which holds that the Ushiwaka Maru set

[1] Fukushi Sadazō, Tsugaru Tosa Meisho Ki (A record of notable places in Tosa, Tsugaru), *Tōhōku Bunka Kenkyū* 1: 51-52.

[b] *Otogi Zōshi* is a collection of popular folk and fairy stories which circulated in the period 1300-1600. *On Zōshi Shima Watari* is a legend of the escape of Minamoto Yoshitsune to Hokkaidō.

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sail from Tosa for Ezo.[2] There are many records after this date containing notices of Ezo vessels putting into Akita and Tsugaru to trade. In a letter dated February 20 of the year 1565 written by the Jesuit Missionary Father Luis Frois to a Father in India [3] there is mention of the Ezo coming to trade at Akita and the Spaniard Sebastiano Vizcaino [4] who explored the Northern seas in 1611 reported that during the months of July and August the Ezo came to Japan to trade. As the Japanese encroached on the Ainu, the center of trade between the two people crossed Tsugaru straits and came to rest in the Watarishima area. After the Ezo incidents of the period 1455–1457 had been settled, the number of merchant vessels putting into Ezo steadily increased. They were after fish, fur, and game and as trade increased so did the number of market centers. Esashi, Matsumae, and Hakodate were the most active trade centers with the trade itself penetrating deep into Ezo.[5] On the east coast a trade post was established

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[2] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 336.

[3] Murakami Naojirō trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsûshin (Correspondence of Christians in Japan) in *Ikoku Soshō* 1: 192. Frois wrote this letter after learning of the visit of the ancestor of the Matsumae (Kakizaki) to the Andō clan at Hiyama in Akita.

[4] Murakami Naojirō trans., Bisukaino Kinginto tanken Hōkoku (The report of the expedition of Vizcaino to the Gold and Silver Islands) in *Ikoku Soshō*, 113.

[5] "At that time (when the Matsumae moved to Fukuyama) there were no officials on duty nor were there visits from foreign vessels.

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*175 *648 A39 at Akkeshi in 1624 while on the west coast during the same year Japanese merchant ships could be found at Sōya.[6] Before the revolt of 1669 the number of ships that visited Ezo, including the eastern and western coasts, was fifty-five,[7] and the average number of ships per year for both eastern and western coasts is set at thirty-five to thirty-six.[8] The *Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shima no Kami Mōshiage* [*SGM*] [A Report by the Lord Matsumae in the Year 1715] says that in the days of Kimihiro a vessel was sent to Karafuto, a practice later stopped.[9] The advance of the Japanese meant a retreat for the power of the Ainu. These people who had once gone over to Akita or Tsugaru to trade, bringing with them their own products or goods obtained from trading with other peoples, were now confined to a small area for trading. In the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* [History of the Unification of Tsugaru], vol. 10, [668] it is noted that in 1670 a spy from the Tsugaru clan who had been sent to Ezo to investigate rumors of a rebellion there had in the previous year gone to the western coast of Ezo and talked to the natives. He C28 439 *175 *648 reported that the Ainu made comments such as: "Our ancestors used to go to the Takaoka castle site of the Tsugaru clan to trade" and because of the ill treatment from the Matsumae, "Should we appeal to the Lord of Takaoka or should we go secretly to Takaoka and trade again?"—comments which indicate that the Ezo of this region were used to travel to and from the Tsugaru region. Since from the point of view of the Japanese the trade had political significance (under the name of tribute) the Matsumae clan came to monopolize the trade. That just prior to the time the Matsumae became an independent clan many Ainu traded with them is shown by the *Shiragi no Kiroku* [Genealogy of the Matsumae Family] entry of 1590,

> Enactment of Regulations for the Conduct of Barbarian Merchant Vessels . . . barbarian merchant vessels coming from the west must lower their sails off the coast of Amano Kawa, heave to, and after showing their respect proceed

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E [439] [485] vessels. Only one or two merchant vessels came from southern Tsugaru but since there were only a few fishermen's houses the crew, having no sailors' inns to go to would sleep at the houses of the retainers and as soon as their business was over would sail away. Later, as the land came under the control of the Matsumae, the number of ships and houses increased." *Eso Koku Shiki.*

[6] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, 168.

[8] "Numbers and sizes of vessels. No restrictions for navigation placed on either Japanese or barbarian ships. Number of vessels as follows; Each year merchant vessels to Kaminokuni number 35–36 and those to Shimanokuni also number 35–36." *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10.

[9] "At the time of great-grandfather Shima no Kami (Kimihiro who succeeded to the estate in 1608 and died in 1641) a vessel was sent to Karafuto but this was later discontinued" (Report from the Lord of Matsumae in 1715). "At the time of the late lord a boat was sent from a place called Sannai in Sōya to Utsushamu in Karafuto but unable to proceed farther returned. Another vessel was sent the following year." *Eso Dan Hikki.*

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on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargos of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watarishima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaidō from the Andō clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

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1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

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The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. *"Okiguchi Yakusen"* [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of 8–9 vessels	1000–2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks	1000–2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign vessels and travelers	in excess of 600 ryō

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These items constituted the revenue of the clan chief and while not inclusive of the tax receipts from gold mines gave a fair idea of sources. After 1672 the proceeds from hawk sales and the gold-mine taxes fell off so that the continually prospering Ezo trade became the main source of Matsumae income. After the clan became independent the stipends of their followers, the number of whom was increasing, were, as in other clans, in the form of rice allotments but unlike other clans the Matsumae gave rice stipends only to the lower retainers. The higher retainers were called *Bashomochi* [estate holders] for they received as stipend a part of the clan land or else they acquired a *Chigyōsho* [tenure] in one of the many *Basho* [estates] into which the Ezo territories were divided. Since these estates were located in unfriendly areas and yielded no income from products of the soil the right of the *Bashomochi* in his tenures was merely the privilege of trade monopoly in the area. This was then a distribution [*in rem*] to retainers of the right of monopoly held by the Matsumae which right and distribution was recognized by the Bakufu.

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This stipendary estate system, generally called *Basho* or *Akinaiba* [trading zone], was established during the period 1596–1614.[10] The boundaries grew gradually. Some were the size of our present gun or even kuni. Exploitation of the *Basho* was not limited to trade alone. There were gold mining, hawk roosts, abundant salmon, trout, and timber. However, these were directly controlled by the clan lord and without his explicit permission could not be exploited. So the living expense of those who had the right of *Bashomochi* was obtained directly from the trade which, in the beginning, was managed directly, in each *Basho*, by the clan or by the estate owner.

Every spring merchant ships from various countries came to Matsumae and the clan or the estate owner would take trade goods from these ships, put them on smaller boats, and proceed to their respective estates. These small boats called *Nawa-Tojibune* [roped ships] had a capacity of about 300 koku. They were canoes with thick boards fastened to their sides with birch fibre, there were no nails, and they were able to take shelter in the numerous small inlets of the coast. These canoes indicate a small scale trade. The trading post of each *Basho* was set up at the spot where it was convenient both for the Ainu to gather and for a small boat to beach. At these posts the Ainu traded the goods which they had accumulated during the year either by their own efforts or through trade with other tribes. Prior to the establishment of permanent trading posts business was carried on aboard the canoes or in temporary huts or even in Ainu huts. Either the owner of the *Chigyōsho* or his representative was on the trading boat and in the sense that the *Chigyōsho* owner was looking after the Ezo in his area the trip

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

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was termed *Kaihō*, a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region.[c] Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishiwa* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

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[c] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

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2 CAUSE OF THE WAR OF 1669

The chief characteristics of a commercial colony are its impermanence and the lack of political disputes between the governors and the governed. This is particularly true when the colony is not a market for the surplus goods of the homeland but is established in order to exploit the products of the colonial area. The Matsumae, in their early period, did not, as has been mentioned, rely on military power but achieved their purpose with the natives by peaceful means—by the development of trade and transportation which was financially vital to the clan. It was therefore not necessary for the weak Matsumae clan to attempt to control the powerful Ezo but merely to maintain a peaceful economic relationship. To achieve this aim it was more needful to impose regulations on the Japanese than on the Ainu and the Matsumae consistently avoided quarrels with the natives by establishing a boundary between the two peoples and by prohibiting Japanese from entering Ainu territory. A decree of Hideyoshi says, in part: "Crews and merchants coming to Matsumae from other countries shall treat the Ezo as their own people and refrain from doing them injustice," while in a decree from the Bakufu to the Matsumae the clan is thus enjoined: "Injustice to the Ezo shall be strictly forbidden." The attitude of the Matsumae themselves can be seen in the injunction observed by that clan since the days of Yoshihiro: "To govern without the use of force." With the exception of those natives who lived in Matsumae territory or who, living very close to it, intermingled with Japanese, no regulations were imposed on the Ainu, they being treated as equals although foreigners. They kept their own customs, used their own language, lived in their own society under chiefs elected by them, observed their own rules, and were independent of the Matsumae power. The Matsumae sent no officials into Ezoland and although the *Chigyōnushi* [*Chigyō* proprietor] or his representative crossed into aboriginal territory they remained in that territory only long enough to conduct trade and returned on the completion of their business. There was then no political relationship between the Japanese and the natives. This situation is well described in the words of Hafukase, a powerful chief of Ishikari to a delegate of the Matsumae during the Ezo war of 1669: "Lord Matsumae and I, the chief of the Ishikari, have nothing to do with each other. I will not interfere with the affairs of the Matsumae, so let the Lord Matsumae not interfere with affairs of ours." [12] The only action the Matsumae took when disputes arose among the powerful chiefs was to send a delegate to mediate. But the continued development of trade induced a political relationship and as their economic strength grew so did the influence of the Matsumae over the natives. In regions such as Ishikari, where food was abundant and trade with the Japanese not extensive, the power of Japanese mer-

[12] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10 and *Sapporo Kushi*, 182.

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cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels." [13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving" [14] —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

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1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade." [15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system. [16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.
[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.
[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

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the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as being told,

> Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable." [18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

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> During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

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3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae [20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

> Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

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[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

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Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki Tadaemon:

As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.[22]

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Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,[23] or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.[24] When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.[25] Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.[26] About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.[27]

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Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henauke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

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[22] *Ibid.*, 173.
[23] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.
[24] *Ibid.*, 141–142.
[25] *Ibid.*, 148–151.
[26] According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Isso* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.
[27] During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyō Zakki* in *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

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III. THE REVOLT OF 1789

1. GROWTH OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACT SYSTEM AND THE CHANGE IN EZO ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Japanese who came to have an advantageous position over the Ezo after the 1669 incident profited further by the great change in the Ezo industrial system brought about by this very incident. This was due to the growth of the *Basho* contract system for trade previously carried on by the clan or by *Chigyōnushi*, now passed into the hands of merchants called *Basho* contractors. The basis of the Matsumae economy lay in the Ezo-Japanese trade because, unlike other Japanese clans who could rely on agriculture, the Matsumae inhabited a land not suited for agriculture. The clans in Japan were dominated by farmers who had acquired control by force while in Matsumae territory it was the merchants who acquired power by force. But while the Matsumae merchants were superior to the local hunters and fishers in power and ability they were, in comparison with the mainland merchants, merely local small time traders. The mainland market where goods for the Ezo trade were bought and sold was dominated by the merchants of Central Japan. Thus the Matsumae were not go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland markets, but just go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland merchants. The relationship between the *Chigyōnushi* and the mainland merchants may have started as a commercial one in which goods were bought and sold for the Kyōto-Ōsaka regional market, but as the mainland merchants invested more capital in the trade and as the Central Japan traders began to operate branch offices in Hokkaidō, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, the Matsumae clan became dependent upon these merchants. The natives borrowed capital and a year's supply of food from these traders and paid off in whatever game they caught.[1] The *Chigyōnushi* did the same in that they borrowed from the merchants not only necessary capital for the Ezo trade but also the money needed for an entire year's operation and they repaid the merchants from what they earned in the native trade.[2] With the rise in the standard of living of the samurai plus the cunning of the mainland merchants, the *Chigyōnushi's* debts increased until the Ezo trade fell into the hands of these traders from Japan. Under the name of *Basho* contractors they paid a certain sum in taxes or money for the privilege

[1] "People from local areas were eager to borrow any amount of gold, silver, rice, salt, etc., to employ a crew and hire a boat. After the February equinox they would fish and the catch would be sent to the creditors, who, in a body, would price the hauls." *Tōyūki* (Record of a trip to the East).

[2] "Income from the land was not grain or fish but credit from the merchants with whom the price of land use had been set as 100 or 200 kin for a given area. No money changed hands but daily necessities were supplied by the merchants." *Chihoku Gūdan* (The northern allegory).

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of trade, and the formerly dominant *Chigyōnushi* became a class reliant on the collection of these tolls and taxes for their income. Those *Chigyōnushi* who were not in debt also found the *Basho* system advantageous for they now received steady remuneration from capable and wealthy merchants and were themselves relieved of depending on the risk of trade. It is not clear when this change took place except that it was during the time of Matsumae Norihiro as seen in the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* [Record of Ezo under the Matsumae]: "Recently fishing in Ezo has been very poor and even though smaller numbers of vessels are sent they show no profit. Therefore, arrangements have been made to have one ship represent several interests. There are some who have permitted merchants to take over their *Basho* and they collect taxes from these merchant vessels." By the time of Suehiro not only the *Chigyōsho* of the clan members but also those directly under the head of the clan had been taken over by contractors who now operated the entire Ezo trade.[3] There is a theory that this process corresponded to what happened in Japan where the downfall of feudalism was accelerated by the invasion of commercial capital and that therefore it is a necessary concomitant of the collapse of feudalism.[4] However, as long as feudalism is defined as "a social system based on the interrelationships of land ownership during a stage of early agricultural techniques,"[5] it is not possible for the condition of the Matsumae clan, whose lands had not even entered the agricultural stage, to be compared with the stable conditions which existed in Japan. Furthermore, the feudal power of the Matsumae was, economically speaking, limited to such a small area that it was impossible for their samurai to enjoy the benefits of an exploiting class. The criticism that arose later, that the Matsumae followers did not act as warriors should, was not because they became merchants as happened in other clans, but because they had never really been samurai to start with. So the growth of the contract system did not entail the fall of the samurai of the Matsumae. Economically speaking, the samurai became a separate and a totally parasitic class. During the latter part of the Tokugawa period when all the economic activity of Japan fell into the hands of the merchant class the Matsumae clan underwent the same process but it was not the growth of the *Basho* system that eliminated the Matsumae samurai as a class. It should be understood that the Ezo trade was not carried on by merchants

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[3] Sugano Kazutaro, Shonin no gyogyōka kau (The transformation of merchants into fishing industrialists), *Hikone Kōshō Chōsa Kenkyu* (Hikone commercial higher school studies), No. 8.

[4] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi Basho Ukeoi Seido Kō (Some consideration on the Matsumae Ezo *Basho* contract system), *Keizai Shi Kenkyū* (Studies in economic history), No. 28.

[5] "Kaizosha" in *Shakaika Daijiten* (Dictionary of social science), 1068.

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only after the *Basho* system developed, for indeed merchants had been operating in Ezo from an early date. Note that in the war of 1669 the number of samurai attacked by the natives was very small and that, while the *Chigyōnushi* were the entrepreneurs of the Ezo trade, the actual operations were carried on by merchants, either through consignment or as employees, and these merchants gradually became the entrepreneurs. These contractors obligated to pay a certain fee called *Unjōkin* had the right to certain trade monopolies within the *Chigyōsho* and their name of *Basho* contractor probably arose from their obligation to pay as *Unjōkin* a fixed amount of the profits from the *Basho*. The majority of these *Basho* contractors were traders or fishermen from Japan who were permitted to engage in trade after signing a guarantee which stipulated the terms and amount of *Unjōkin*. These contracts ordinarily ran for three, five, or seven years, a period known as the first term, and on their expiration either the old contract was renewed or assignments were made to new contractors. The operational change from samurai to *Basho* merchant was most significant in the development of the industrial system in Hokkaidō. At first the methods and aims of the contractors were similar to those of the *Chigyōnushi*. Trade was carried on at one's risk and posts called *Unjōke* were established at contract areas under the direction of managers (who undertook the entire responsibility of the post), interpreters (who not only interpreted but looked after Ezo affairs), clerks and watchmen (who manned the watch stations set up at the fishing grounds). Rice, sake, yeast, salt, tobacco, pans, knives, needles, used clothes, dry goods, thread, lacquer ware, barrels, earrings, and pipes, all of which were in demand by the Ezo, were sent to these posts to be traded for marine products, handmade goods, and other materials which the Ezo had formerly traded to their neighbors. The Ezo goods were sold in the markets of Japan. The system was established gradually[6] and owing to its development the Ezo market expanded and the amount of goods in Ezo increased in quantity and variety. Just prior to the existence of this system the income of the Matsumae derived from the Ezo trade was placed at 2–3,000[7] ryō. But the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, written in 1739 gives a total income of 3,200 ryō based on the total taxes on merchant vessels and the summer and autumn taxes from Ezo.[8]

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[6] The details of the *Basho* contract system are dealt with in the following works. On those points where I hold a different opinion I will publish my own research later and will refrain now from any discussion.

Shirayama Tomomasa (see note 4 above).

Minami Tetsuzo, Matsumae Han jidai ni okeru ukeoi seido (The *Basho* contract system during the Matsumae period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (5).

[7] See para. 3 of this chapter.

[8] *a*) in gold 1200 ryō from the Shiribetsu lumber tax. *b*) in gold 1200 ryō from the tax on merchant ships. *c*) in gold 300 ryō. *d*) in gold 1400 ryō from the tax on foreigners. *e*) in gold 1700 ryō from the tax on herring stations. *f*) in gold

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The effect of the *Basho* system can be seen in that the income from *Unjōkin* alone in the year 1804 reached approximately 7,000 ryō.[9] This growth in profits was partly due to the salesmanship of the contractors and partly to their capital development of new markets which till then had been out of reach of the mainland trade but it was mostly due to the introduction of new merchandise, the improvement in the system of production, and a change in the method of operations. Wholesale houses were set up in Fukuyama in 1723 and in Hakodate in 1748. Small post houses were built in Fukuyama in 1729 and in Hakodate in 1748.[10] The market expanded and not only did those already in existence in the Ōu, Hokuriku, and Kinki [Ōsaka-Kyotō] regions increase but this trade reached into Edo[11] itself and from 1739, dried sea cucumber, tangle and white abalone shell were exported from Japan in sacks as "Nagasaki" goods.[12] With this growth of the market the Ezo trade became large scale and, when the restrictions which permitted only small corded vessels were lifted and large nailed ships entered the trade, the quantity of goods in trade rose.[13] However, there was a limit to the returns within the same *Bashos*, especially when the same old methods were continued, and the contractors naturally sought new markets and new methods.

The goal of the mainland traders had been to exploit the interior of the island and, after the 1669 incident, this tendency was accentuated. Up to the last decade of the seventeenth century it was generally held that Akkeshi was as far as vessels could go on the east coast, but gradually they went further, first to Kiritappu, then to Nokkamapu, and in 1751 a *Basho* was established in Kunashiri and trading rights were acquired in the Kuriles.[14] On the west coast, 1772 saw the exploitation of fishing grounds east of Sōya in Mombetsu, in Shari and in Karafuto where trading posts were set up by Murayama Denbei.[15] The contractor Hidaya Kyuhei who operated in Kiritappu, Kunashiri, and Akkeshi opened new *Basho* in 1787 in areas where no

1700 ryō from Ezo autumn taxes. Misc. taxes from farms and on imports are omitted. *Hokkai Zuihitsu*.

[9] *Unjō* payments.

[10] *Heishin Jōtetsu* 3. According to Mogami Tokunai the income of the Matsumae during 1804 was total tax receipts of 7,033 ryō, 2 bu and 1,741 kan, 434 mon in other monies.

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 257–258.

[11] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi no shōhin ni tsuite (In regard to the merchandise of the Matsumae Ezo area), *Shiro Issen*, No. 49.

[12] Shirayama Tomomasa, Tokugawa Bakufu no kanei shōgyo no ichirei (An example of state operated commerce during the Tokugawa period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (4).

[13] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 401.

[14] *Ibid.*, 125.

[15] "Denbei again contracted for the Sōya area from the end of 1775 to mid-1782 and teaching the Ezo methods for catching herring, trout and salmon developed such new areas as Shamori and Mombetsu and where fish were abundant cabins and guard houses were established." *Murayama Denbei Rireki* (Personal records of Murayama Denbei).

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vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.[16]

Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

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[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

[20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa*.

[21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM*.

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chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

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weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people. This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

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The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui." "Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona":* a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

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[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Môjin Scia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

> From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his feliow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]
>
> In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,
West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.
East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki.*

people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

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was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

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Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

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These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[45] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[46] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[45] *Tōyūki*.

[46] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *kotsuki* [*ubakai, Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

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portant role prior to the eighteenth century in the development of the European colonial system. Although the *Basho* operators, were individuals operating on a small scale, they played a similar historical role for they were entrepreneurs who succeeded in colonial enterprise after feudal attempts had failed. Furthermore, just as the chartered companies had certain obligations (the payment of a portion of their annual product to the Royal Household) for which they were given certain privileges, so did the contractors oblige themselves to pay a stated amount to the *Chigyōnushi* for which they were given the right of monopoly at the *Basho*. Another point in common is that both chartered company and *Basho* operators were merchants backed up by feudal power. However, unlike the charter company, the *Basho* operators were not granted the power of protecting their own enterprise, only the name of the *Basho* and the fee being entered into the contract. Nevertheless, since the negotiations with the Ezo were left up to the contractors and since neither *Chigyōnushi* nor clan interfered, the contractor actually exercised some political control. In the Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri districts which were under direct clan control supervisors were sent with each vessel because, says the *Toyu Zakki*, "People from Matsumae would try to deceive the Ezo and start trouble. They were to see that this did not happen." Actually, the main duty of the clan officials was trade supervision. The *Ezo Sōshi* gives their duty as that of preparing those goods which were to be sent to the daimyō: "they would go to the *Basho*, trade for sea otter, hawk feathers and eagle tails which were to be offered to the central government at Edo, load these goods with those of the contractors and sail for home."

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The predominance exercised over the Ezo was confined to *Omusha*, trade for "light goods," the inspection of cargoes, the reading of instructions to chiefs at the *Basho*, and the settlement of disputes between Ezo and Japanese. Privately owned territory, which represented the major portion of Ezo, was never visited by these officials.[54] But just as the chartered companies expanded, improved, and dominated industry in the colonies so did the *Basho*. Just as the companies played an important role in preparing the colonies for the direct rule of the home government so did the *Basho*. Just as companies took advantage of their privileges and caused the spread of misery among the natives, so the *Basho*. Just as the home governments did not interfere with the companies either from intent or because there was nothing that could be done thus leaving the natives to their fate, so with the *Basho*. The *Basho*

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[54] It is said that the *Uwanoriyaku* were sent only to such territories as were directly controlled by the clan chief. This is not true. They were sent to all important areas and this may be checked by the fact that in Bunsei Nenkan Tōzai Ezochi Unjōkin Chō (Tax records of Eastern and Western Ezo during the Bunsei period) there are many *Basho* in West Ezo which are listed under "*Uwanorikin.*" In later years no *Uwanori* were actually sent to these *Basho* but the tax was collected.

system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zakuwa.*

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600 dried mushrooms
Todo Skin [Eumetopias Jubata, Stellar sea lion]—one piece.
3 seal skins
Elm bark cloth, 3 pieces
6 bamboo blinds
3 rush mats

For one bbl. of fish oil, containing 2 shō—3 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
For one bear liver—14–20 sacks of rice.
For one outfit of brocade clothes from the Ezo of Santan—9–24 sacks of rice.
For each 5 feet of Ezo brocade cloth—6 sacks of rice.
For eagle feathers—3–30 sacks of rice.
For one Karafuto pipe—⅝ cups of sake to one small bbl. containing 4 shō.

Rates of exchange for goods from the mainland were as follows:

For one sack of rice containing 8 shō:

1 small bbl. sake—4 shō
3 bundles of tobacco
1 large knife
6 small knives
6 bowls
3 pipes
1 sack of yeast containing 7 shō
1 set of Kamokamo (nest of bowls, 1 large, 1 small)
6 flints
72 needles
72 spools of cotton thread
3 *namako Hikikane* [tools for catching sea slugs]
1 set of old clothes for 5–10 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
1 tan of cotton cloth for 3 sacks of rice.
Hokai [lacquer ware container used by high officials] for 2–5 sacks of rice.

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The standard of value was rice and the value of everything was set in terms of rice prior to barter. In 1688 when the vessel Kaifu Maru came from Mito to Ishikari the prevailing exchange was recorded as 1 to 2 shō of rice for each 700 fresh salmon.[57] According to statements left by Matsumae Sazen, principal retainer of the clan and others, by 1790, the sack of rice was reduced to 8 shō while the quality also became less and at the same time the quantity of salmon to be exchanged per sack of rice remained at 5 bundles or 100 salmon;[57] 8 shō became the standard contents of the sack of trade rice. It is reported that one of the reasons for the trouble in Menashi and Kunashiri was the reduction of the rice sack to a mere 3 shō occasioned by the famine of the 1780's.[58] However, in general, the standard measure was the "kobyō" [small sack] containing 8

[57] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 1263.
[58] *Ezo Dan* [Ezo Tales] (The story of the farmer Sanemon of Esashi village in Matsumae).

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shō of Musaban rice.[59] Trade was not necessarily carried on in accordance with these standards. According to *Igen Zokuwa* 4½ kan of tangle was worth more than 6 gō of unpolished rice valued at 5 to 60 mon per shō, yet in a diary of an official present at the trading in 1798 in Sōya, "The Ezo in exchange for 2 bundles of tangle received a large bowl of cold rice. The same case is seen in trading salmon, codfish or herring. It is a most inconvenient trade. It is said that this custom is followed in all parts of Ezo."[60] Also, one shō of sake worth 200 mon according to *Igen Zokuwa* is said by the diary to have been worth one kan 600 mon.

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Fraudulent means were used in the trade to alter both the quality and quantity of mainland goods. Sake was, next to rice, the most important trade staple and we read in the *Tōyuki:* "Sake was put in 2 shō barrels with false bottoms and then taken over to trade." "Sake was generally the crudest type. That from Japan was thinned with water but they thought it of very good quality." From the *Ezo Koku Shiki:* "Sake was brewed in Ōyama in Akita and although said to be in barrels containing 2 tō actually they contained only 1 tō, 4 shō. The sake was raw and red in color. To this water was added." The Ezo were thus cheated both in quantity and quality. The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an anecdote about an interpreter of the Shiranuka *Basho* who once sold a traveling chest with gold metal fittings and gold paper lining to an Ezo chief. The chief tried to use the chest to make sake but, when the gold paper peeled off, he became outraged and was convinced that he had been cheated. He was not calmed until the nature of the chest had been explained to him.[61] There is another anecdote about the origin of *Kuwasaki* which the Ezo valued. "In early days merchants taught the Ezo that the hoe-shaped ornament on a Japanese helmet was a valuable treasure and sold them to the Ezo at high prices. This object was given the name *Kuwasaki.* They varied in shape but generally bore resemblance to a hoe. They were made of wood and covered with silver paint." As can be seen there was considerable chicanery. In Sōya a bundle of herring consisted of 10 strings with 20 fish to a string or a total of 200 while in Matsumae a bundle was 14 strings of 13 fish or 182 herring. While one sack of rice containing 8 shō was traded for 500 sea cucumbers yet, when the amount was less than 500, then the rate dropped to 5 hai of rice per 100 sea cucumbers thus resulting in a difference of 1 shō, 7 gō, five shaku per 500. The author of the *Igen Zokuwa* says, "Retail business resulted in a loss for the Ezo and a profit for the trading post. In the case of dried sea slugs the difference between units of 450 and 500 made for a big difference in price. Although some Ezo are aware of this, there are many who do not know the difference."

[59] *Ezo Koku Shiki.*
[60] Mutō Kanzo, *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo diary].
[61] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* **6** (2): 31.

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Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

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There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

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After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

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A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

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This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho*, the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

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[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) *in Chigaku Zasshi*, No. 276: 901–902.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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There are only a few people on this vast island and they are kept too busy hunting and fishing to do anything else. It was for this reason that such policies were undertaken. This can be said to be a fair observation.

The people who went to Ezo and traded with the natives or engaged in fishing were all employees of the contractors. Since they were men who risked great dangers in going to the ends of the earth (as people in those days thought) to work and, as the author of *Tōkai Santan* [Three Stories of the Eastern Seas], says, "Most of them were outlaws, refugees or persons denounced by their kinsfolk. . .," there is little doubt, although it is denied in *Mōjin Seia Dan*, that these people were unjust to the natives.[67] For example, the interpreter who carried on conversation with the natives was but an employee of the contractor and yet was a person of tremendous powers. He took advantage of his position to cause misery to the Ezo. *Tōyūki* notes:

> The interpreters were thought to be officials of the Matsumae and the Ezo showed them due respect. However, the interpreters would become unreasonable to the point where, even in public, they would knock down their victims and stomp them with their feet. The scene was unbearable.

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and also:

> The interpreter would make up new words and when the native failed to understand, jeer at the Ezo's ignorance. The Ezo, not knowing they were being deceived, thought the interpreters men of great knowledge.

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These men used every means to achieve their aim. As an example of their methods which were no different from looting we have the report of a *Kozukai* from Akkeshi:

> Chief Horoemiki of Chiurui possessed two pans which he treasured. At the request of the mainlanders who wished to see them, the chief sent them the pans. The mainlanders never returned them saying that they had been dropped and broken. When the chief asked for compensation, the mainlanders became very unreasonable and a *Tsugunai* resulted so the whole affair was left unsettled.

Getting *Tsugunai* by way of *Charanke* was a harmful method by which the stronger Ezo prayed on the weaker and, although it is said that the Matsumae forbade this practice, it was nevertheless used by the cunning to deprive the Ezo of their treasures. The *Tsugunai* episode in *Tōyūki* shows that where it was exercised it was effective enough to achieve its aim.[68] The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an incident about one Matsui Mohei who was a *Uwanoriyaku* for the Matsumae. By making claims that a bear liver brought by the Ainu was a fake, he forced them to pay as fines such treasured things as battle swords, short swords, and sheath bands and he earned an enormous profit by selling them.[69] The immoral mainlanders stole not only goods but also Ezo women. This was because permanent residence on Ezo

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[67] *Sekai*, No. 90: 70.
[68] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan*, Part 1: 51–52.
[69] *Ibid.*, Part 2: 46–48.

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Japanese but they were taken seriously by the natives because the daily conduct of the Japanese was so brutish that there seemed every possibility these threats would be carried out. The Matsumae never attempted to suppress such tyranny or the evil consequences thereof. It is true that the *Basho* contractors with commercial rights in Ezo were men of other clans and that therefore the Matsumae clan had little power over them,[74] but the officials of the Matsumae themselves were no more than profiteers. In the Tōyū Zakki we read that,

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Lesser samurai such as the pages or horse handlers made their incomes from trips on merchant vessels to Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri. One such trip was worth about 30 ryō in gold. Even the low ranking samurai made about 10 ryō on a voyage. The goods taken to Ezo by these samurai varied according to their rank, bearers, or sandalcarriers and the lower ranking took with them needles. A needle which cost one gold ryō in Matsumae could be traded for goods worth 5 to 7 ryō.

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Thus, the Matsumae officials themselves were busily engaging in trade and it was out of the question for them to regulate the merchants. This disreputable conduct of the officials has been mentioned before but another example is given in *Hokuhan Fudoki* [Customs of the Northern Clans]. There lived in Yoichi an Ezo who had ten trays made of gold which he dearly treasured. The clan officials regarded these as rare goods and persistently urged that he give them up as tribute. The native finally came to the capital and, pleading with the officials that these trays were of great value and could be sold for food in time of famine, and that they meant so much to him that he would rather kill himself than give them away, was finally able to avoid having this valuable property taken from him. This sort of situation is also well illustrated in *Tōi Shūran* [Complete observations on the Eastern Ezo]:

Each year one samurai from Matsumae was sent to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* to prevent unfair dealing by the merchants. However, these very same samurai acted like merchants and themselves engaged in unfair practices and were thus unable to prevent fraud on the part of the merchants. This system of *Uwanoriyaku* is just a waste of money without any good results.

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A severe and pertinent criticism of this system is found in *Sapporo Kushi:* "The attitude of the Matsumae clan toward the natives is not that of a lord governing his people nor is it that of a ruler of nomadic peoples but it is the attitude of a large businessman very clever in making profit."[75]

As has been mentioned, the influence of the Japanese extended gradually into the interior of the island and as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo.

cause it seemed that she would be cooked to death, a large number of Ezo came to her rescue and were able to get her back." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[74] Mori Yoshio, Kinsei Hokkaidō ni okeru shōgyō shihon no hassei (Development of commercial capital in recent times in Hokkaidō), *Shirin* 19 (1): 140 ff.

[75] *Sapporo Kushi*, 201.

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*648 except for farmers in Matsumae, the trade shall be reserved
*175 to members of the Matsumae clan alone.

3. Guardhouses shall be erected at Akkeshi in east Ezo and Sōya in west Ezo where such officials as managers, swordsmen, and foot soldiers will be stationed. These 656 people will regulate and control the Ezo. Since the climate 439 gets very cold in the winter and the sea freezes, making it very difficult to spend the season there, the Ezo shall be provided with sufficient supplies and the mainland traders will all return to the mainland. Beginning with this spring, officials shall be sent to investigate conditions along the frontier and those necessary steps recommended in their reports shall be taken.

4. Besides the guardhouses in east and west Ezo others will be located in convenient places. Furthermore, instructions (that the regulations be observed) will be sent to areas managed by retainers of the clan.

5. In preparation for possible foreign invasion fortifications shall be emphasized and in cases of emergency reports will be made by signal fires prepared in advance. Furthermore, clan officials shall be sent into Ezo and adjacent islands and to the frontier line and all necessary measures will be taken. April.

Matsumae Shima no kami

A summary of this would be as follows:

1. Trade in the remote areas of east and west Ezo to be brought under direct control of the Matsumae, thus eliminating the evils of the contract system.

2. Traders in Ezo, that is, the managers, guards, and interpreters, were limited to those who lived in Matsumae territory, thus preventing evil characters from outside from coming in contact with the natives.

3. Guardhouses were set up at Akkeshi and Sōya (later at Ishikari) with managers and clan retainers stationed at them to look after the Ezo. The Ezo were supplied over the winter and the mainlanders were sent home, thus eliminating tyranny by the traders. Furthermore, officials were sent to the frontier to investigate conditions and guide the Ezo.[79]

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The net result of all this was the following two policies:

*648 1. The clan recognized the evils of the contract system
*175 and saw that it was the root of revolt. It therefore
[178] sought to correct the system and where supervision
●439 proved difficult the system was abolished.

2. Up to this time Ezo-land had been left to native self-government. From this time on the Matsumae tried to rule the Ezo through clan officials sent into their territory.

In regard to policy number one, little change resulted. This was because the financial condition of the Matsumae really permitted of no change and the merchants were permitted, under a nominal "control" to manage pretty much as they had under the old contract system.

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However, the establishment of guardhouses and the tationing at them of officials to regulate Ezo life ac-
697 ually was carried out. These guard posts were origi-
*648 nally established at Akkeshi and Sōya with the intention
*175 of building more at other places later on. However, according to the *Mizou Ki* [Record of Unique Matters]

[79] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 358-360.

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30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran* . . .

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was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end of this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

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to custom." The only thing that had to be done was to win the favor of the chiefs. Even the trading posts were merely convenient locations for a vessel to land and for business to be conducted and when the trade was completed the Japanese left and there was no form of political intervention. But as contacts multiplied and, as the Ezo became more an exploited people, the periods of contact lengthened and it became necessary to apply force to, and lay down obligations for, the Ezo and, as a result, possibilities for trouble arose. It then followed that there was a need for political regulation and an administrative organization came to be set up. The *Uwanoriyaku* whose duty it had been to go to Ezo during the trading season became agents stationed in Ezo-land to govern the people. However, this system was still in embryo and its full development will be seen in the following period.

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the Russians in Etorofu and in 1771 cleaned the Russians out of the Kuriles for a time.[13] With that incident the Russians changed their attitude and, when they made their next voyage in 1773, they gave presents to the natives, demonstrated their generosity, and began a trade between the Russians and the Kurilese during the course of which the Russians converted the natives, changed their customs, altered their names, taught them Russian, sent them missionaries, etc. Some Russians began the practice of staying over for a year on Etorofu and in 1785 a permanent Russian colony was established there. As their colonial activities in the northern seas advanced, the Russians began to feel the need of securing raw materials and supplies from their neighbors and of finding a local market for their products. In 1779 some Russians requested trade at Akkeshi. In 1785 Gregori Shelekov organized a colonial company which, in 1794, sent Cyril Laxman to Japan officially to request trade and which, in 1794, founded a colony on Uruppu Island which was the economic center for the natives of Etorofu.

The extent of Japanese influence to the east and north of Ezo has already been described. The center of trade with the Kuril Ainu was gradually moving east from Akkeshi. In 1701 Kiritappu *Basho* was separated from Akkeshi and in 1754 Kunashiri *Basho* was opened for trade with the Ezo. The protection of our rights and interests in these areas has now to be considered.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE EZO AREA

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Japan could not ignore the fact that Hokkaidō was entering the colonial arena of the world. Naturally the appearance of a competitor for Ezo attracted the attention of the central government and led to its direct control over Ezo. But that was not the sole factor, for the central government had already had its interest turned to Ezo and the possibility of colonial competition merely spurred its activities. Ever since Minamoto Yoritomo conquered the Ōu area, the Ezo of that region had been completely Japanized and, after the rebellion of Andō Futoshi, administrator of Ezo in the late Kamakura period, [1185–1333] native power had been removed to the northern side of Tsugaru Strait and for centuries they were forgotten by the mainland people who thought of Ezo only as haunted by demons.[14]

[13] *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku*. . ., 87.

[14] As an example there is a scene in a play in which Ezo Island appears. It is in the Jōruri drama *Kenjō no Tenarai* written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon in 1685 and may be found in the First Book of Chikamatsu's Popular Writings included in vol. 4 of the Section on Edo literature in *Nihon Meicho Zenshu* (Library of Famous Japanese Literature). This play describes the island as follows:

"This so-called Ezo Island is located more than one thousand ri away. Whoever is born on this island possesses an immense natural power. The hair grows upward and the light of the eyes is like the golden morning sun. Their angry shouting

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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advance was simply due to a desire for trade; that the conflict between the Ezo and the Russians was an incident created by the Kamchatka Russians without the knowledge of the Russian government and that to dispatch an army and navy was not necessary since the Russians had no territorial designs but desired only a mutual trade which same was wished by a number of Japanese.[20] Honda and his followers held a contrary view—that it was a Russian invasion, that Ezo was economically vital to Japan, and that national defense ought to be emphasized.

The Matsumae remained inactive for they were capable of neither exploiting the natural resources nor providing for the national defense. There were those like Matsumae Hironaga and the clan chief Michihiro who were aware of and paid attention to the problem but (*a*) the clan was tiny, the census of 1777 showing only 26,500 people and 170 samurai families including foot soldiers,[21] and (*b*) the clan was in financial straits with a vast indebtedness and almost no way to pay it.[22] It was therefore impossible for them to venture the great wilds and the rough seas of the north in order to defend the vast territory of Ezo. All they could do was to wait and wish for luck. To a large extent the same situation was true of trade. Trade was under merchant control and the clan could not control the misconduct of the merchants in their relations with the natives or the exploitation which raised native anger. Indeed the fact that the financial position of the clan made it overcharge the contractors helped indirectly the exploitation of the Ezo. "The Eastern Ezo are stout and strong although they seem awkward and foolish. Once they decide to hazard their lives they are not to be moved. If they are mistreated they make up their minds and you then reap the whirlwind."

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The scholars were correct when they said that if matters were left unremedied the Ezo would rebel against us in collaboration with the Russians. The 1789 rebellion in Kunashiri and Menashi was not supported by the Russians although some people so argued but it was an outcome of the complaints of the natives. On the other hand we have an example in what happened to the *Otona* Ikotoi of Atsushi. Although he had gained merit by helping quiet the Kunashiri-Menashi revolt, he later ran away to Etorofu to complain to the Russians about the actions of the Matsumae.[23] Under very strict instructions from the Bakafu after 1789 the Matsumae changed their policy, tried to educate the natives, established fire towers and guardhouses, and in 1790 sent officials to open the Karafuto market. In 1791 they sent foot soldiers to Etorofu as inspectors and watchmen. But according

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[20] Ōtomo Kisaku, Kudō Heisuke no Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō (Kudō Heisuke's "Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō"), *Shakai oyobi Kokka*, No. 200: 187.
[21] *Matsumae Shi*.
[22] *Hokkaidō Shi*, chap. 33, section 3.
[23] *Ibid.*, 481.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

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The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

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treatment and, having heard of the situation in Ezo, they have started to extend their influence there with the results that about twenty islands off Ezo have become subject to them. They have also paid frequent visits to East Ezo. We have been ordered to protect the island but it is so large and surrounded by water that it is impossible to fortify the entire island. The only solution is to treat the natives with kindness and make them satisfied with our government so that they will not be tempted by the persuasions of foreign governments. This method, if properly carried out, would end the threat of foreign invasion by fortifying not the island but the people themselves.

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However, the cost would be tremendous if goods were just given away to the Ezo without anything being received in return and we would only be encouraging the native to lose interest in his work and loaf. It is best to continue the year's old trade and to assign the operation to merchants. But place officials at each *Basho* to supervise the trade, inspect the goods, and see that no cheating is done and that honest goods are offered the Ezo. These inspectors should be posted every five to ten ri in a *Basho* and their house should be available to travelers. Fishing nets and other equipment should be available at these houses for the use of the Ezo and to those who work especially hard and catch more than the others a reward should be given. Under the Matsumae the Ezo have been forbidden to wear straw hats or sandals in rain or snow and anyone who did so was fined. This must be changed and, in addition, we must provide food and shelter for the poor and send doctors from the mainland to each *Basho* to care for the sick. Currency must be circulated to acquaint the natives with its convenience. Encourage the natives to work, permit them to use Japanese, and teach them the Five Cardinal Virtues[e] and the Japanese alphabet. If any of them wish to follow our way of life, allow them to do so. Give them Japanese clothes, build them a Japanese house, teach them agriculture, and a century from now the entire island will look and be a part of our country. In the early days the Ezo occupied what is now Miyagi gun in Sendai and it has, over the years come into its present condition . . . so with the passage of years it would not be an impossible task to achieve the same with Ezo. And the gain to our country will be immeasurable. However, we should not expect rapid progress or we should fail. If we were to make them change their customs too rapidly, friction would occur, so let us wait until they are ready and willing to follow our ways. All in all it is a problem demanding patience. For the time being our concern is with their obedience and therefore officers should be sent to each *Basho* to govern.

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The book thus states the motive of Bakufu rule and recognizes the importance of a native policy in detail. The problem of an army is treated only as a means of carrying out a governing policy. Appeasement is primary and assimilation is to come gradually, the whole policy based on the belief that Russia was doing the same thing.

In conclusion it must be noted that, although both the intelligentsia and the government recognized the need for appeasement, benevolence, assimilation, and guidance, it was a recognition of needs based on national defense and not on a humane revulsion from the Matsumae oppression of the Ezo. There were those who said that the development of Ezo was "a great benevo-

[e] Benevolence, justice, decorum, intelligence, good faith.

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lence" [6] and that "to educate the Ezo, to teach them humanity, and to help them cultivate the land were wishes of the Gods," [7] or that to mistreat them was "against humanity" and that it was "most sorrowful" [8] but these were all rationalizations of a policy based on necessity.

2. THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EZO

In January, 1799, the Bakufu, as an initial step in taking over control of Ezo, appointed a number of Commissioners who worked out fundamental principles to be used in governing East Ezo. These were submitted to the Bakufu and, after careful consideration, the Council of State accepted them in principle and on February 10, 1799, issued the following instructions to the Commissioners.

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF EZO

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Ezo has been brought under the direct control of the central government because it is undeveloped and the people are living in a poor condition. Officials sent there shall endeavor to educate the people and gradually have them adopt Japanese customs. They will see that the Ezo submit to the Japanese Government and that they will not be lured by the blandishments of foreign countries. This must all be done gradually since it is impossible to give away unlimited quantities of goods or to force them to become loyal to our country. Therefore, for the time being the trade as it has been carried on for many years will be continued and indeed should be used to improve the native standard of living. Since past experience indicates that if this is left entirely in the hands of the merchants it will result in unfair practices, officials will be placed at each trading post to regulate the trade. Although this trade is to be conducted for the benefit of the Ezo, no undue favor will be given them. The old form of trade will be kept but with honest weights and measures, sound goods, and fair transactions so that the Ezo will be encouraged to work hard. If such a condition comes about they will, no doubt, increase their production of goods for exchange but it is not the purpose of the government to gain profit from the trade but rather to benefit the Ezo. The officers conducting the trade should bear this in mind:

1. Teach the Ezo, in due time, how to raise crops and live on cereals and to become used to our way of life. Even before you teach them to cultivate the land try to change their diet from meat to grain by telling them that cereals are much better than meat. Then when the time comes to teach them how to raise crops their progress will be much faster.

2. Make the Ezo feel that this change in policy is a generous gesture of the government. It is important not only to tell them this but to be honest with them. It has been said that they are ignorant but innocent and if they receive the impression that we are not honest it will be a great obstacle in winning their loyalty.

3. When the Ezo are employed as laborers they should be given rice in strict accordance with the attached list and there should be no room for them to suspect that there

[6] Namikawa Temmin, *Hekikyōroku*.
[7] Hayashi Shihei, *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu*.
[8] *Ezo Sōshi*.

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the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

I. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

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A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

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The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

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[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

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Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

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This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

> During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *C48 *175 439 A [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaikō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

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Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

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enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

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[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakaku wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu kikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

	Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A.	3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B.	4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
	(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	15 for one cup unrefined sake. (One cup refined sake equal 50 mon) (One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon) (One mushroom equal 1 mon)

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

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Ezo Zakki [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes the situation of that time:

> The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.[30] Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.[31] It was therefore decided to place East Ezo back under the contract system and in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.[32] The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

[30] Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gojiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

[31] Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Nichirō kōshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

[32] According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu.

"We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

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change conditions would remain much the same and they were told to report any dishonest conduct on the part of merchants to inspectors, thus placing a check on the actions of the contractors.[33]

4. THE MANAGEMENT OF KARAFUTO

In 1807 as a result of its satisfactory progress in East Ezo the Bakufu assumed control over all Matsumae territory. Partly responsible for this was the fact that, although the Russians had landed in Karafuto in 1789, the Matsumae had taken no positive action there and

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nection with this the following instructions have been received:

1) Existing laws shall be rigidly observed. (2) The vessel to be used for the voyage shall proceed to Ezo flying a Japanese flag. The utmost effort shall be exerted to prevent damage to the ship from unfavorable weather. Measures to be taken in the event of distress due to hull damage shall be the same as taken in the past and the interpreters will so inform the Ezo. (3) The Ezo shall be encouraged to increase the output of goods to be sent to Nagasaki, if any. Strict controls will be established against illegal trade and the movements of merchandise closely checked so that, regardless of whether or not the goods are native products, they shall not be illegally disposed of. This instruction being but recently issued it shall be announced immediately. (4) The oft repeated instruction that the Ezo must not be approached with evil intentions shall be observed. (5) Interpreters and guards shall be instructed to watch over the Ezo residing in their *Basho*. However, the *Unjōya* shall be primarily responsible for caring for the ill and needy Ezo. (6) No illicit trade shall be had in silk as per instructions and no goods shall be purchased directly [from the Ezo]. (7) Personal greed is to be restrained and the Ezo are not to be plundered but trading at the *Basho* shall follow the accustomed forms.

The undersigned fully acknowledge these instructions. In case of a violation which may become apparent later not only the interpreters and guards of a *Basho* but also the contractor will be punished. A report shall be made to the office upon a safe return from Etorofu."

Date

Etorofu *Basho*
Takadaya Kahei (seal)
Name and seal of Manager, Interpreter and Guard.

Addressed to the officials at Okinokuni.

[33] Instructions to the Ezo. (1) The three prohibitions shall be observed. (2) The Shogunate shall be respected and parents cared for. Families are encouraged to live in harmony and observe the law. (3) Quarrels are prohibited. Let friendship reign. Plotting will not be tolerated. (4) When a boy reaches a certain age he is to be allowed to take a wife. However, polygamy is prohibited. (5) Despite the fact that the contract system has been adopted, no change whatsoever shall be made in matters of fishing or trading. It is therefore requested that all Ezo work hard under the contractors toward the goal of eternal prosperity. (6) There have been no changes in our policy toward the Ezo. However, should something be thought unreasonable or should doubtful matters arise, the incident is to be reported to the guardhouse. (7) The reason that government officials are being sent to the island is to insure that the livelihood of the Ezo is protected. This considerate conduct should be fully appreciated and all efforts are to be made in the future to keep the Ezo from difficulties. (8) Illness should be reported to the post to which doctors have been dispatched and medicine sent. This information is to be conveyed to the Ezo and it should also be known that any sighting of a foreign vessel is to be reported to the *Kaishō* and action taken accordingly. *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 592-593.

indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.[34] Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.[35] While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.[a] The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku;* brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.[36] This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo[37]

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[34] In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[35] Ichi en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishiage sōrō kakitsuke, *Kyumei Kōki,* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

[a] "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

[36] Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari.* The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese coins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [Martes Melampos] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henyō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

[37] A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called Ōtsuku type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the Southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

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and it was an historic trade for the Japanese.[38] The goods in this trade were highly valued, considered as a part of the products of Matsumae, and even offered as gifts to the Bakufu.[39] Although these goods were all called Santan goods, they originally came from China. They were sold to Manchurians who took them to a trading post on the lower Amur where they were exchanged for the furs of the Santan who, in turn, brought them to Karafuto. In later years Karafuto Ezo went over to Santan and traded with the natives there or directly with the Manchurians. There were two main routes by which goods came in. The one in which goods were brought directly to Shiranushi by the Santan and the other where a Santan could cross the mountains from the west coast to the east coast to trade with the Orokko for animal skins. The Orokko would, in turn, trade these goods plus seal oil, at Roreinaibutsu, for the rice, yeast, tobacco, and skins which the Ezo of Sōya or Southern Karafuto brought to that spot. The latter route was insignificant in the amount of trade it handled.[40] Actually, the Santan trade was small compared with the Chinese trade at Nagasaki since boats only large enough for five men were used. But the wares handled were Chinese and it was Bakufu policy to permit foreign trade only at Nagasaki, so the government could not ignore what was an illegal trade—particularly after it assumed direct control of Karafuto.[41] The trade had also assumed a political significance which placed it outside the sphere of an ordinary business transaction. We have a situation parallel to that when the Japanese first gained control of Ezo. A business relation is initiated, disputes develop, and the Santan, backed by the Manchurians, subdue the Ezo. The trade then assumes a tributary aspect with obligations on the Ezo and the Manchurians, as they had done with the Santan, establish officials among the Ezo who are called *Harata* and *Kashinda*,[b] similar to the *Otona* and *Kozukai* of the Japanese system. These officials

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found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō. Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collection of materials on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), intro. and pp. 19 ff.

[38] *SHS* 1 : 79.

[39] "It was said that blue beads were brought into Karafuto from North Korai [the Korean kingdom of Silla] . . . although they were called Tsugaru insect nests . . . a careful inspection revealed that they were not the nests of insects and it was decided at this time that they be presented [to the Shogun]." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

[40] Karafuto narabi ni santanjin no gi moto banin e aitazune sōrō kakitsuke sashiage sōrō ni tsuki soesho kakitsuke migi (Materials attached to reports submitted by former guards in response to queries concerning Karafuto and the Santan), *Kyumei Kōki* 7 in *SHS* 5 : 806 ff.

[41] "It has been announced officially that trade will be opened with Ezo and that trading posts will be established. The fact that trade which heretofore has been confined to the West will be opened in the East is truly a great turn of policy." *Ibid.*, 5 : 764

[b] J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 99 (2) : 100 fn., 1955.

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were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony.[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidō, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sōya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurō in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

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[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyōgi no omomuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A F *648 *175 439 452 must be paid off and the Santan trade stopped or the trade be continued under strict supervision. He proposed these alternatives to the Matsumae Magistracy which thereupon ordered him to settle the accounts between the Ezo and the Santan. Denjurō issued a notice to all Santan who had made loans to the Ezo to report to his office within three years and, when they did appear, with their witnesses, the Ezo was required to pay as much as he could and the Bakufu paid the remainder. As evidence of settlement, the name of the Santan was registered and he had to make out a receipt. When the Santan heard of this state of affairs a great number of them came to claim their debts and by 1812 the debts called in amounted to 2,975 marten skins from the Karafuto Ezo and 2,571 skins from the Sōya Ezo, a total of 5,546 marten skins of which the Ezo themselves paid only 499 skins, the government paying the remaining 5,047 in the form of 2523½ otter skins (the otter skin being equal to two marten skins), at a total value of more than 131 ryō.[46] Since at that time there was definite knowledge that of the number of Ezo taken to Santan three were from Karafuto and two from Sōya; these were returned after their debts were paid.

F [656] Having had all their debts settled, the Ezo were prohibited from making private loans from the Santan and as a sworn token of this the *Otona* in Sōya and Karafuto were requested to deposit *Makiri* [Ezo swords] at Japanese headquarters. It was also commanded that the presentation of Santan goods to the Matsumae at *Omusha* be stopped and that local goods be substituted, thus blocking any further loans.

F *648 *175 439 The attitude of the Santan toward the Bakufu officials was, at first, as contemptuous as their attitude toward the Ezo, but after Denjurō ordered (1) that hats be knocked off if they were worn into the official quarters; (2) that Santan trying to enter the post with their shoes on be beaten on the shins; (3) that pipes be stricken out of the mouths of those inside his offices and that those who did not observe the regulations be punished, there was a change in their behavior. As soon as Denjurō saw that he had subdued the Santan, he set strict rules for the trade which he permitted to be carried on at Shiranushi only. His subordinates directed the trade and, when they had concluded their business, the Santan had to return to their own country.[47] The skin exports of Karafuto were bought by the government which also monopolized imports. Denjurō established fixed prices and in general operated the trade to his advantage.[48] His motive, according to

[46] Kita Ezojin Sōya Ezojin Santanjin yori koshaku hensai kata shiwakechō (Record of debts paid to the Santan by the North Ezo and the Sōya Ezo).

[47] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[48] The trade rates fixed at this period are omitted since they can be found in Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō*, 93–94, and other published sources. It is apparent, as will be seen below, that the trade was conducted to the advantage of Japan. The trade rate comparison given below is from Karafuto narabi

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the author of *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* [History of the Administration of Karafuto], was to obtain profit by encouraging trade and the reason he fixed the prices was not to benefit the Ezo but to set low prices on Santan wares.[49] This reasoning seems too far-fetched, for the Bakufu's intent in controlling the Santan trade was to regulate the trade rather than make money from it. It is true that this was not done merely for the benefit of the Ezo but it did gratify the natives. In addition it was reported that *Basho* managers were making huge profits from fishing and other industries, after this situation came about, because no Ezo were fleeing from debts; instead they were working safely under Japanese rule.

By controlling the Santan trade the Bakufu not only prevented Manchuria from aggrandizing Karafuto, which could have happened had no steps been taken, but an illegal trade was checked and help was extended to the Ezo which freed them of their debts and increased their labor power.

IV. THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

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I have noted previously that in order to eliminate native complaints and, at the same time, to provide that work which would raise the material standard of living, the Bakufu encouraged industries, opened up *Basho* and stopped malpractice in trade by supervising or directly conducting the trade itself. In addition when *Basho* officials were transferred every several years the *Otona* of the *Basho* were summoned to appear before the Magistrate at Matsumae in order to impress the natives with the dignity and power of that official. Furthermore, at least once a year *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* as a measure of presenting gifts and giving aid to the poor, sick, and elderly. Doctors were sent to look after the health of the natives and an effort was made to assimilate the Ezo spiritually. The following is devoted to the actions and problems concerned with the above.

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1. CEREMONIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND PROTOCOL

I have mentioned that in the Early Matsumae period it had been the custom for the various *Basho* chiefs to

ni Santanjin no gi aitazune sōrō kakitome (An inquiry into matters concerning the Santan and Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* 7.

F
[A36]

	1802	*1809*
Chinese cotton	3 otter skins	2 marten skins or 1 otter skin
smoking pipe	1 otter skin	1 marten skin or ½ otter skin
brocade	15 otter skins	about 30 marten skins or at least 15 marten skins
brocade gowns	24 sacks of rice each of 8 shō or 48 otter skins	at least 42 marten skins or at least 21 otter skins

[49] *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* 1, and for the period prior to the Restoration see 2: 29 ff. See also Takakura Shinichirō, Kinsei ni okeru Karafuto o chūshin to shita Nichiman kōeki (Recent Japan-Manchurian trade centering around Karafuto) in 1 of *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku*.

[P. 67(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When I came first among them, the people had no large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

asserted that they traded with the races living in Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

this is gradually extended until a more or less broad band surrounds the mouth and perhaps extends in a tapering curve on both cheeks toward the ears. The arms also are tattooed in various patterns. The tattoo marks are made by cross-hatching the skin with knives, which they get from the Japanese. Into the cuts thus made the soot of burning birch (*kaba*) bark is rubbed, which is collected on the bottom of a dish held over the fire. The color of the marks thus made is distinctly bluish, and for this reason it does not show so conspicuously in photographs as it appears to the eye. The width and extent of the tattoo marks, as well as the depth of the color, is different in various parts of Yezo. In the north it is a narrow band on both lips, not very conspicuous, as shown in the picture of two young women of Tokoro, Plate XCII. At Ohotsu, on the southeast coast, the bands are wider, but not much extended on either side of the mouth, and the color is almost black. This pattern is seen also about Urap (Pls. XC and XCIII.) In other localities the band is very broad and well extended towards the ears, as shown in Plate XCIV, but in this case the color is in wavy lines and not deep.

On the road from Tamakomai to Sapporo I met two women with vertical tattoo marks on the forehead between the eyes. This observation was only casual and therefore not entirely satisfactory, for I supposed it would be possible to further verify it by visiting some of the villages in that region. This I was unable to do. But the practice of tattooing the forehead has been noted by other observers. Mr. Batchelor has casually mentioned that the Aino women "in some cases tattoo their foreheads." This, as well as an allusion to the fact by Dr. Scheube, confirms my own observation. Prof. H. E. Stockbridge, with whom I have since spoken on the subject, informs me that he has frequently noticed this form of tattooing, and that it seems to be most common along the west coast.

The tattoo marks on the arm are best shown in Plate XCV, which represents an old woman of Tokoro. The patterns vary greatly in different cases, but they all have the same general character of alternating horizontal lines and crossed lines.

The origin and significance of tattooing among the Ainos is obscure. It seems to be merely an inherited custom without any recognized object.

STAGE OF CULTURE.

Probably few who read these lines have ever seen the lower stages of human savagery and barbarism, still less have they an adequate conception of the physical and moral condition, or of the manner of life, which characterizes the lower types of human existence. The American Indian is a picturesque character as we think of him roaming over plains and through forests, hunting the buffalo and other wild animals, sleeping peacefully in his wigwam, and enjoying the fruits of a luxuriant soil. But come nearer, and we find that the hunt is for

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the *ohiyo*, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate.

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptised as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6 ?

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized: men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing.

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Lacsman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again administered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

The Japanese Government established administrative headquarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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354 776 774 [462] sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 776 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 554 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the [776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 523 [353] [439] [177] Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer [844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps [782]
with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them [537]
copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell [152]
and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful. [533]

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is [775]
dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we [291]
shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be [292]
assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without [775]
which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

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In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made 291
and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained [439]
by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matihir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
● [439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[502] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished, in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting; besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp. 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are concerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[224] [136] [278] bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the [231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting. [237] [439] [433] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Japanese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so important as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food [137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] [342] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

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137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [139] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i. e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [364] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

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the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

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during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which circumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

(68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

(69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

[1] [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

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/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

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so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

A G 101 439 /117 cont./ buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

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5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A FJ Gi 101 The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

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1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

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3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

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4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

A Gi [113] [175]

F.J 101 175 A [101] F.J [114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

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6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyĕ," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuă, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, A G [439] along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

Gi 291 294 179 415 /406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 179 291 Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 179 [114] [171] [459] I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

225 /453 cont./ Next to fish The
262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

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2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come [439] to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,

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4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result [133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

G SS 276 197 /468 cont./ wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every G [554] [321] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192 4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439 The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their A [824] own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [191] [129] 1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his A [113] "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G 223 [439] /565 cont./ article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

G 239 411 [464] G 223 231 439 Gi 231 439 114 136

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

A 231 439

A 231 439

/565 cont./ reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411

Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113]

1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 326 [411]

At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

G [342] [396] [493] [335]

G [175]

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Gi 325 174 Gi [177]

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

A G 325 19

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

A [439]

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak: he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

A 114 325 19

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

/571 cont./

Ainu. Steller (1) and Krascheninnikof (2) expressly state that the

1. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 249, note a, and p. 320.

2. /Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Region of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

first iron implements of the Kamchadal, which they knew and used even prior to the arrival of the Russians in their country, were large Japanese iron needles, and their Kamchadal name also points to this origin of them, for "sühse" (according to Steller) or "schisch" (according to Krascheninnikof), as I have pointed out above (3), only means "Japanese" after the designation for

3. See pp. 407-412 above.

the Japanese passed on to the Kamchadal by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands. The Kamchadal, as Steller further reports, knew how to do some forging on these needles, which they presumably learned from the same Ainu who had brought them the needles. For instance, if the eye of the needle broke off during use, they made it red-hot, gave it a form like its former and by hammering it with a stone, /572/ and bored another hole in it with the help of another needle. Likewise prior to the arrival of the Russians, they also received through the Kurile Ainu pieces of Japanese iron ore. They knew of no other use for these, however, than to fasten them, if, as Steller relates, they were about 2-3 inches long and had roughly the shape of a knife, to the tip of a pole and set this up in front of their houses as a symbol of great respect and wealth. It is certain that this esteem of the Kamchadal for such an insignificant and in itself quite useless thing for them was based on information from the Ainu that this was the material out of which the Ssisan (Japanese), who in

K 823 A 439 823 186 A 439 435

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

G A K 439 19 325

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 194 325

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am G A 224 inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reinA [411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was A 411 439 325 178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, A 224 181 433 648 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

Gi 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads Gi [439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

/620 cont./

175 648 439 Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." [622] Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

A 175 648 439 622 /621 cont./ Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives, from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G Gi A 175 648 439 622 /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tributary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region, among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves, by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate and reliable Japanese traveler.

G Gi A [114]